Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 01569 032323Z

67
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-11 ACDA-05 /092 W
---------- 033917
R 031450Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9442
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY RANGOON
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 1569

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652:GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR
SUBJECT: SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS: KAPITSA'S VIEWS

1. SUMMARY. MIKHAIL KAPITSA, CHIEF OF THE SOVIET MFA'S
FIRST FAR EAST DIVISION, TOLD ME ON FEB 2 THAT THE SOVIETS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 01569 032323Z

HAD RELEASED SIX CHINESE AS A TRADE-OFF FOR PEKING'S

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

RELEASE OF THE SOVIET HELICOPTER CREW. MOSCOW HAD ALSO
HELD OFF ON ANTI-PEKING PROPAGANDA FOR TWO WEEKS. BUT
THE CHINESE INTENSIFIED THEIR OWN POLEMICS, HE CHARGED,
AND THE SOVIETS GAVE THEM A STRONG PROTEST NOTE ON
JAN 29. HE SAID THAT THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP COULD NOT
CHANGE ANYTHING NOW, AND HE DID NOT EXPECT SINO-SOVIET
RELATIONS TO IMPROVE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HE
SAID THAT THERE WERE NO GROUNDS FOR DEPUTY FOREIGN
MINISTER IL'ICHEV TO RETURN TO PEKING. END SUMMARY.

2. I CALLED ON KAPITSA TO DISCUSS SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS
FOLLOWING PEKING'S RELEASE OF THE SOVIET HELICOPTER
CREW AND CHOU EN-LAI'S DEATH. KAPITSA SAID THAT THE
HELICOPTER AND THE CREW HAD BEEN HELD "TOO LONG" BUT
THAT THE CHINESE EVNTUALLY "HAD TO RELEASE THEM."
THEY TRIED TO GET THE CREW TO CONFESS TO CHARGES
OF SPYING BUT IN THE END RECOGNIZED THAT THIS EFFORT
WOULD FAIL. THE MEN, SAID KAPITSA, HAD NOT BEEN MIS-
TREATED IN THE SENSE OF BEING BEATEN OR TORTURNED, BUT
THEY HAD BEEN ISOLATED FROM EACH OTHER FOR NEARLY TWO
YEARS. THEY HAD REFUSED FOOD A FEW TIMES AND THE
CHINESE HAD FORCED THEM TO TAKE INJECTIONS. THE
RELEASE, HE SAID, WAS PLAYED AS A "SPECTACLE IN THE
CHINESE MANNER;" HOWEVER, IT WAS NOT AIMED AT
IMPROVING RELATIONS BUT RATHER AT INFLUENCING THE
SOVIET PEOPLE WITH A DEMONSTRATION OF CHINESE
"REASONABLENESS." IF IT HAD BEEN INTENDED AS A SERIOUS
GESTURE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS, SAID KAPITSA, IT COULD
HAVE BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY REDUCTION IN ANTI-SOVIET
PROPAGANDA. HOWEVER, THE CONTRARY HAD HAPPENED; CHINESE
POLEMICS HAD ACTUALLY INCREASED IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING
THE RELEASE. KAPITSA SAID THAT ON JAN 29 THE SOVIETS
HAD PRESENTED A PROTEST NOTE TO THE CHINESE WHICH
DENOUNCED IN "STRONG TERMS" THIS CONTINUING PROPAGANDA
AS AN ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS,
TO SOW DISCORD BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES (I.E.,
MOSCOW AND ITS ALLIES) AND TO ADVOCATE WAR. KAPITSA SAID THAT
THE CHINESE GESTURE MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN AIMED AT "THE
WEST" TO MAKE CHINA "MORE INTERESTING" AND TO ENCOURAGE
THE WEST TO TAKE CHINA'S ANTI-DETENTE CHARGES MORE
CONFIDENTIAL

SERIOUSLY.

3. TO MY QUESTION OF A POSSIBLE ANSWERING GESTURE FOR
THE CHINESE RELEASE, KAPITSA SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD
RELEASED SIX CHINESE WHO "FLED TO US." THE CHINESE
HAD SAID THAT THEY WANTED THEM TO BE RETURNED BUT THE
SOVIETS INSISTED ON THE RELEASE OF THE HELICOPTER CREW
AS A CONDITION. TWO OF THE SIX CHINESE WERE "ARMED"

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

AND ALL WERE MEMBERS OF THE "PEOPLES MILITIA." THE
FIRST FOUR OF THE SIX HAD BEEN HANDED BACK ON DEC 29-30
AND THE OTHER TWO JUST AFTER JAN 1. (COMMENT. THIS
CONFIRMS THE REPORT FROM THE PAKISTANI DCM AND DIRECTLY
REFUTES THE DENIAL BY ONE OF KAPITSA'S SUBORDINATES,
MOSCOW 1199 (NOTAL). END COMMENT.) FURTHERMORE, SAID
KAPITSA, THE SOVIETS STOPPED ALL HOSTILE PROPAGANDA ON
CHINA BETWEEN DEC 28 AND JAN 10. BY THEN IT WAS CLEAR
HOWEVER THAT THE CHINESE WERE INTENSIFYING THEIR OWN
POLEMICS. I COMMENTED ON THE ALEXANDROV ARTICLE
(MOSCOW 694 NOTAL) IN PRAVDA AND ASKED WHETHER KAPITSA
HIMSELF HAD WRITTEN IT. KAPITSA SMILED AND SAID THAT
"ALEXANDROV" IS A PEN NAME WHICH HAS BEEN USED BY
PRAVDA FOR THIRTY YEARS. HE SAID IT SIGNIFIED HIGH
AUTHORITY
BUT THAT THE ARTICLES OFTEN HAVE SEVERAL
AUTHORS.

4. TO MY QUESTION ABOUT KAPITSA'S COMMENTS ON SOVIET
TELEVISION IN DECEMBER ABOUT THREE OTHER SOVIETS BEING
HELD BY THE CHINESE, HE SAID THAT ONE HAD LOST HIS WAY
AND WANDERED OVER THE BORDER, THE OTHER TWO WERE
"GOODS TRANSPORTERS" WHO HAD ALSO WANDERED IN THE WRONG
AREA AND BEEN PICKED UP BY THE CHINESE. THE FIRST
INCIDENT HAD OCCURRED ABOUT FOUR AND A HALF YEARS AGO,
HE SAID, AND THE SECOND THREEYEARS AGO. THE SOVIET
AUTHORITIES
FOUND OUT ABOUT THESE OTHER DETAINEES FROM
A FISHERMAN WHO WAS RELEASED LAST SPRING AFTER BEING
HELD BY THE CHINESE FOR FIVE YEARS. (COMMENT. KAPITSA
INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE "CONCERED" ABOUT THESE
REMAINING SOVIETS IN CHINA, BUT DID NOT SAY WHAT, IF
ANYTHING, MOSCOW WAS DOING TO TRY TO GET THEM BACK.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 01569 032323Z

END COMMENT).

5. ON THE POSSIBILITY OF DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER
IL'ICHEV RETURNING TO PEKING SOME TIME SOON, KAPITSA
SAID THAT THERE WERE NO PLANS FOR HIM TO GO BACK BECAUSE
THERE WERE NO GROUNDS. THE CHINESE, HE ASSERTED, DO NOT
WANT A SOLUTION OF THE BORDER PROBLEM. THEY DO WANT TO
CONTINUE THE TALKS, HE SAID, BUT THEY DO NOT WANT SERIOUS
RESULTS. OFFICIALLY, HE SAID, BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED
TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE OLD RUSSO-CHINESE
TREATIES. THIS IS A REALISTIC BASIS FOR THE TALKS AND
INDEED THE BORDER PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED BY MUTUAL
GIVE AND TAKE OF A FEW KILOMETERS HERE OR THERE. BUT
THIS IS NOT WHAT THE CHINESE WANT, HE CONCLUDED.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

6. TURNING TO THE FUTURE OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, KAPITSA SAID THAT THE PRESENT CHINESE LEADERSHIP "CANNOT CHANGE ANYTHING NOW." CHOU EN-LAI HAD IN EFFECT NOT PARTICIPATED IN POLICY MAKING FOR NEARLY TWO YEARS. MAO IS KNOWN FOR HIS ANTI-SOVIET VIEWS AND IT IS ALREADY TOO LATE FOR HIM TO CHANGE. THE NEW PEOPLE, SAID KAPITSA, WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CHANGE THEIR POLICY BECAUSE THEY WILL BE CARRYING OUT INTENSE COMPETITION AND CONTENTION WITH EACH OTHER AND NO ONE WILL DARE TO OPEN HIMSELF TO THE CHARGE OF OPPOSING MAO'S LINE. TENG HSAIO-PING HAS ABOUT A 70 PERCENT CHANGE OF BECOMING THE PREMIER IN TITLE, BUT THE CHINESE MAY NOT HURRY TO GIVE HIM THE TITLE. MAO, SAID KAPITSA, WILL WANT TO WAIT TO SEE HOW THINGS DEVELOP. THE PREMIERSHIP COULD GO TO CHANG CHUN-CHIAO WHO IS ACCEPT-ABLE TO THE RADICALS, THE ARMY AND NOW PERHAPS EVEN TO THE "PRAGMATISTS." THE POLITBURO, SAID KAPITSA, IS NOW IN THE HANDS OF THE "SHANGHAIRADICALS," AND THE "PRAGMATISTS" ARE WEAK. IF THEY CAN JOIN WITH "THE GENERALS," THEY WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY STRONGER, BUT TAKEN SEPARATELY, THE "RADICALS" ARE THE STRONGEST GROUP. ON THE ATTITUDE OF THESE "RADICALS" TOWARD THE USSR, KAPITSA SAID THAT THEY OF NECESSITY MUST DO A LOT OF "REVOLUTIONARY CHATTERING," BUT A CAREFUL ANALYSIS OF THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS SHOWS LESS ANTI-SOVIET CONTENT FROM CHANG, YAO WEN-YUAN , OR WANG HUNG-WEN THAN FROM CONFIDENTIAL

OTHER LEADERS. IF THIS GROUP WERE TO BECOME DOMINANT, THEY WOULD PROBABLY ADD A NEW ELEMENT TO CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY IN AN EFFORT TO MAKE IT MORE "RED", ESPECIALLY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICAN. HE SAID IT MUST SEEM CURIOUS TO THOSE WHO PROFESS TO BE COMMUNIST THAT THEY ARE ALIGNED WITH PINOCHET OF CHILE, UNITA IN ANGOLA AND OTHERS WHO ARE DESTROYING COMMUNISTS. HOWEVER, KAPITSA SAID THAT HE ALSO AGREES WITH THOSE AMERICAN ANALYSTS WHO SAY THAT FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF MAO, CHINA WILL "HAVE TO GET DOWN TO BUSINESS." CHINA, UNDER ITS PRESENT REGIME, HAD HAD ACHIEVEMENTS, SOME OF THEM SIGNIFICANT. BUT IS IS NOT ENOUGH, HE SAID. THE CHINESE "ENVY" THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL. "THEY CAN LOOK AT OUR FIVE YEAR PLAN AND SEE THAT THE GAP IS WIDENING." THE SUCCESSOR LEADERS SHOULD, THEREFORE, CONCENTRATE ON DOMESTIC MATTERS.

STOESSEL

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, PROPAGANDA, PRISONERS RELEASE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW01569
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760041-0228
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760288/aaaaczge.tel
Line Count: 220
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22 APR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <10 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS: KAPITSA'S VIEWS
TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, (KAPISTA, MIKHAIL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006